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ON THE EVE OF THE REFERENDUM

Algeria has chosen already--the people vote independence

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

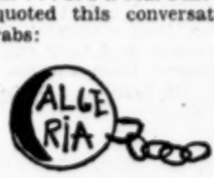
PARIS

ALGERIA WILL NEVER be the same again. December 11, the "Red Sunday," saw the Casbah and other Arab quarters in Algiers turn out by the thousands with FLN (National Liberation Front) flags and slogans for the first time. This shattered the ultras' "Algèrie Francaise," their May 13 "fraternization" myth, and de Gaulle's "third Algerian force" which supposedly would take the place of the FLN in the General's "Algerian Algeria." For the first time, the Arab man-in-the-street—who has been no underground fighter and no FLN agent, who was said by official propaganda to be fed up with the "rebellion" and to want simply to live in peace—demonstrated that he could stand up, state his opinion, and fight for it.

Moslems, who turned up in the Algiers streets that Sunday and risked death for carrying a green-and-white banner or shouting "Ferhat Abbas into power!" were no defeated and indifferent people. They could make their voice heard, respected and even feared. They know now that they are a force to be reckoned with. December 11, in its way, marks a date as decisive for Algeria as the beginning of the insurrection, Nov. 1, 1954.

"ALGERIA INDEPENDENT": The Arab demonstrations were such a surprise that they swept the correspondents of some of the big Paris dailies off their feet. The **Figaro** reader could hardly trust his eyes on Monday morning when he read these Arab comments on the pro-FLN outburst of the crowd: "It's the cry of our heart!" . . . "We have been waiting for this for six years!" . . . "There is too much blood on our flag. A million Algerians have died for independence."

France Soir reported another Algerian's remark: "We are all for the FLN. We are fed up with what is happening in Algeria. We are no longer for de Gaulle. There are only two solutions today: A Fascist Algeria or an independent one." Pro-Gaullist **Paris Jour's** bewildered correspondent said: "It's incredible but true . . . It's a real FLN festival." And he quoted this conversation with Casbah Arabs:



"What do you think about the referendum?"

"We no longer have confidence in France."

(Continued on Page 4)

THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD COUNCIL REMAINS TORTURED IN THE CONGO
The UN Assembly adjourned without action on the Congo as the legal Premier languished in a dirty prison run by a freebooter propped up by imperialism. For the implications, see below.

FREEDOM FOR LUMUMBA A CENTRAL ISSUE

Afro-Asians bitter over UN failure in Congo

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE EXPLOSIVE situation in the Congo remained unresolved as the UN General Assembly recessed on Dec. 20; the debate is not scheduled to be resumed until March 7.

Following the bitter discussion in the closing hours of the Assembly, UN corridors buzzed with predictions of another special Security Council meeting or even an emergency Assembly session in the near future on the Congo.

Several African and Asian members attacked the UN command's "illogical" actions in the Congo. UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold was the target of some penetrating questions; he lost his customary suavity and replied with considerable acerbity. In the UN Budgetary Committee, too, the Congo issue provoked heated exchanges.

SUPPORT FOR LUMUMBA: In the Assembly the stormiest discussion revolved around the question of UN authority to obtain the release of Premier Lumumba—now under arrest by army chief Col. Mobutu—and disarming Mobutu's rampaging troops, by force if necessary. The Soviet Union, other socialist countries and some Afro-Asian nations contended that the UN command in the Congo already had such authority; the Western powers, some Latin Americans and all but one of the African members of the French community disagreed. Hammarskjold sided with the Western powers.

The U.S. press gave the impression that the socialist countries were the most vociferous supporters of Lumumba, but during the Assembly's closing hours it was the Afro-Asians who hammered away at the UN Secretary General on this issue. Mali, Guinea, Ghana and even pro-West Tunisia demanded that Hammarskjold instruct the UN command in the Congo to obtain the release of Lumumba. The delegate of Ceylon noted in an unusually blunt speech that his government had officially condemned

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THE CAUTIOUS CABINET OF A CAREFUL MAN

Kennedy's 'Big 3'—There are no new horizons

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

The Kennedy Cabinet does not represent a striking departure from the Eisenhower course. The Cabinet Big Three—the Secretaries of State, Defense and Treasury—are relatively conservative men, two of them Republicans.

—New York **Herald Tribune**, Dec. 18, 1960

THE GUESSING GAME is over and the Cabinet is complete. As the assistants are being named, it is in order to take a look at the three top departmental administrators to John F. Kennedy, the men who are concerned the most with the nation's foreign policy, its defense and its fiscal affairs. This is the way the directors of the New Frontier shape up a scant three weeks before the Inaugural Jan. 20.

State Department

DEAN RUSK, 51, president of the Rockefeller Foundation since 1952, will be the new Secretary of State. A native of Georgia and a Rhodes scholar from Davidson College in North Carolina, Rusk was dean of the faculty at Mills College in California until World War II. He served in the China-Burma theater, leaving as a Lieutenant Colonel in 1946 to enter the State Department. Rusk served as Deputy Under Secretary of State in 1949 and 1950, and as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs in 1950 and 1951.

In the latter capacity Rusk played a key role in the Korean War as an advocate of strong action. It was he who at 2 a.m. on Sunday, June 25, conveyed instructions to the U.S. representatives at the United Nations to move for the "police action" in Korea.

When General MacArthur's UN forces crossed the 38th Parallel there was strong sentiment among U.S. allies at the UN against extending the conflict. Some of

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THE MAIL BAG

Dear old England

HAVERHILL, MASS.

Upon reading Cedric Belfrage's article about the pornography in a British P.O. (Nov. 28) I come to the conclusion that it isn't only in the field of physics that Russia surpasses the English-speaking people. The Russians don't waste their time in either writing or reading the stuff.

The GUARDIAN has more material to put into the paper than there is room for. Why waste space to report such trash? In the midst of many fine articles in the GUARDIAN, this report on "dear old England" seems out of place.

Mina Lewis

Reply to a reviewer

MAYS LANDING, N.J.

Toward the end of his thoughtful review of **Walt Whitman's Civil War** (Dec. 19), Philip Stevenson adds he had trouble locating the sources from which the book was compiled. He seems to have overlooked a section entitled "Sources," (pp. 297-300)—a list of the abbreviations used in the notes. These indicate the nine manuscript collections and the 13 published works from which the book was compiled.

As for the reviewer's hope that footnotes be used in future editions, I explain in the book that reference notes were relegated to the back pages to make the text more readable to the "divine average." I still believe that it would be inappropriate to place an editor's annotations on pages where it is essential that only Whitman be heard. And not because of "academic barbarism" but because the text presents a book by Whitman, created completely out of his own words.

Walter Lowenfels

Jack's beanstalk

KETCHUM, OKLA.

Kennedy worked hard accumulating a flock of headaches. As long as Jack tries to bolster capitalism, the more he will become entangled. The handwriting is on the wall for all to see. Khrushchev says socialism will win without a war, and I concur. We can no longer support Britain and France, and they can't pay us. Rugged individualism overplayed its hand. Soup kitchens will soon be rolled out, not because of famine, but because of our system of distribution under the profit system. **B. F. Liggett**

Now is the time . . .

NO. SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

Unions like the United Electrical Workers, the ILWU, the Teamsters and others can only be penalized further by the collaboration of Meany, Reuther, et al, with the Kennedy-Johnson forces. Just as the leaders of the AFL-CIO have submitted to the Taft-Hartley law and now the Landrum-Griffin act in order to have a slight advantage over the militant unions, so they will go along with the Kennedy-Johnson Administration to further hamper and harass the dissenting groups. Therefore, the best defense the independent unions can have is an offensive against both old parties.

After the many previous efforts to establish a new party on a national scale, now is the most propitious time to make a really concerted effort.

Theodore E. Stuver

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

MONTREAL, Dec. 16—A letter to the Montreal **Star** from a parent said that, while examining the textbooks of her 9-year-old daughter, "to my complete disgust, I discovered that [her daughter] had very diligently learned the 'Pledge of Allegiance' to the American flag, the life story of 'two American Presidents' and is now in the process of learning about the Pilgrims."

Officials of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal explained that they were only trying to utilize the "best available reading books for the best possible results."

—New York **Times**, Nov. 17

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: H. L. Flushing, N.Y.

The McCone Five

CIRCLE, MONT.

All the good people of Montana who voted for avowed reaction and sacred scarcity in fear of the Pope gained nothing with their ballots. Montana gave Nixon a good majority, but only threw away its four electors in the final count.

Those who voted for Kennedy, for whatever reason, could have gotten him equally well had they stayed at home instead of voting, since they failed to swing Montana's electoral votes anyway. It is interesting to note that Kennedy was briefed by opposition big-shots before the election and continues to be "briefed." The news report also mentioned "high military leaders and about 40 other leaders." Reminds me of Ali Baba and his forty.

There was a Socialist ticket in Montana. In my home county of McCone, there were five votes cast for the Socialist candidate. Not exactly an encouraging sign that people want Peace and Plenty. These five have the satisfaction of having asked for what they wanted if not getting it. All other Montana voters have the doubtful pleasure of having asked for what they did not want, and still not getting what they asked for.

Hobart McKean

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

IN THE CAPITALS of the two hostile worlds that came out of the war to make one peaceful world, New Year messages struck the worlds-apart note now regarded as normal. U.S. politicians and press insisted that Russia—the only World War II Big Five government conducting no warfare since 1945—is now such a menace that only the A-bomb stands between Americans and perdition. Columnist David Lawrence, quoting appreciatively Winston Churchill's comment that it is "silly" to argue the West should not use the A-bomb first, put it this way: "The biggest single factor in maintaining the peace of the world today is the atom bomb—the method and time of its use."

Meanwhile, as Soviet citizens prepared to meet "Grandfather Frost," this was the typical press comment (in **Trud**, Moscow): "People are becoming convinced that wars with their terrifying consequences are not at all inevitable and that they can be forestalled by joint efforts of men of good will."

From the National Guardian, Jan. 3, 1951

Abe did it first

WHEATFIELD, IND.

Through the composition of the Senate a man in Nevada has 61 times as much political power as a man in New York. All laws have to pass our "House of Lords" before they are subject to the President's okay or veto. It does little good to elect a liberal "Lord" in one of our populous states when a "Tory" can be easily elected in a low-populated state. The land baron in a state like North Dakota has his acres vote for him.

Liberal groups and papers should make major efforts to help elect liberal Senators in thinly populated states. Leading liberals in these states should shun the House, but make every effort to reach the Senate—and help abolish it, eventually.

We could also use a "last resort" method to break down special favoritism. We could encourage liberal voters to migrate from a populous state with a surplus of such voters, to locate in sparsely populated states, and thus bring about a balance of power. I vaguely recall that Abe Lincoln resorted to such strategy in making Kansas a "free" state.

Clarence Speyer

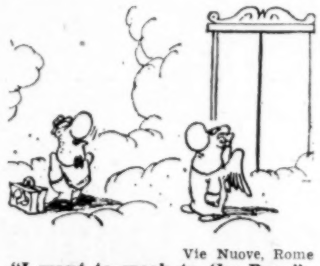
A letter for Siqueiros

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I wrote to Adolfo Lopez Mateos, President of Mexico, as follows:

"I request you give more consideration to the release from prison of the great good man David Alfaro Siqueiros. When I heard that you had put him in jail I could hardly believe what I read in the newspapers. It is very unbecoming to the dignity of the Mexican Government and so very unbecoming to the dignity of one of the world's great artists for you to have incarcerated this wonderful figure. I have written on behalf of a good man."

David Seidman



Vie Nuove, Rome

"I want to speak to the Boss."

A letter for Sobell

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

David Greenglass has been released from prison, after serving ten years of a 15-year sentence. Legal scholars, educators, clergymen and social scientists will find it difficult to explain why Greenglass' co-defendant Morton Sobell is still in jail. Greenglass' freedom focuses attention on the 30-year sentence meted out to Sobell, as the product of McCarthyism and hysteria, rather than justice and reason. Five major law journals noted in studies of the case that Sobell did not receive justice. No major law journal has ever challenged these views.

If legal bases cannot prevail in helping to end the injustice to Sobell, the President should use his executive powers by commuting Sobell's sentence. Is this too much to expect from the present administration?

I am writing in this manner to my Congressman and Senators as well as the President. I hope others will do likewise with copies of such letters if possible to the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York City.

Aaron Katz

One to believe

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The GUARDIAN is the only paper I read that I actually believe, and I want to take this opportunity of complimenting you on its great courage, spirit, truthfulness and social conscience.

Harry Balkin

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REPORT TO READERS

We're heading West

AS THIS WAS WRITTEN, in a time of remembrance in the holiday season, the GUARDIAN tourists to Cuba—79 strong—were spending their first sunny hours under the revolutionary sun of the Caribbean. And this writer, slogging through the wintry slush of a New England twilight, thought with warm envy of the reunion in Havana of Cedric Belfrage, lately come from damp London, and John T. McManus, the GUARDIAN's general manager who, with his wife Jane (excellent Spanish), is leading the GUARDIAN tour. It has been five years between sessions for them. We had our reunion with Cedric in London two summers ago, and a brief word with him at the Idlewild airport a few weeks ago, before the valiant protectors of our shores decreed that Cedric was a clear and present danger to the anteroom of America.

But some of us have to mind the store, and we can share the pleasure of the reunion in Havana, if only in anticipation of the reports that will be brought home later. We have come a fair way from the days a dozen years and less ago when we founding fathers of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN used to peddle the paper at the back of meeting halls. We're still peddling, in our way, but we've got lots more help these days.

There are a thousand stories in our history which one day will be put down in print; but perhaps the most warming fact of our life is that the three names listed at the top of the masthead above still remain linked both in work and friendship, and that most of the names that accompany ours in the masthead have been there—with respect and devotion—all through these years.

WHEN JOHN McMANUS RETURNS from Cuba, this writer will be taking off on a tour also; not south, but west. It is an all too rare departure which is anticipated as a stimulating refresher in Americana. We will be heading first to Chicago, then to Minneapolis; from there to San Francisco, Santa Rosa, Los Angeles and Detroit, and a few college campuses in between. We will be talking, for the most part, on our favorite theme—the American press and its responsibility in the cold war and the world crisis. There will be other themes and other speakers too, all by way of helping to mark our twelfth anniversary around the country—and lots of good entertainment. Above all, for us it will be a chance to talk to the people who really own this paper, and to exchange thoughts on a hundred topics.

In Chicago there will be two meetings. The first, on Friday evening, Jan. 20, at 4919 So. Dorchester Ave. The Rev. William T. Baird will be the welcomer. The second, on Saturday evening, Jan. 21, will be at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Basker, 5010 Jarlath Ave., Skokie, with Prof. Curtis MacDougall as the major domo. Peggy Kraft Lipschitz will appear at both affairs.

In Minneapolis, there will be a meeting on Tuesday, Jan. 24, at the Andrews Hotel (Parlor M-3, mezzanine floor), 4th St. and Hennepin Ave., at 7:30 p.m. The chairman will be one of the GUARDIAN's earliest and staunchest friends, Fred Stover, editor of **U.S. Farm News**. And he's bringing a few carsful of friends from Des Moines for the event. Contribution only 50 cents. We hope to be on the University of Minnesota campus Jan. 25.

In San Francisco, to where all sensible working newspapermen should one day retire, there will be a bangup meeting on Friday, Jan. 27, at 8 p.m. at California Hall, corner of Polk and Turk. Paul M. Sweezy, co-editor of the fine **Monthly Review**, will share the platform to give you the lowdown on the American economy. Sweezy is teaching this year at Stanford University. There will be a group of talented folksingers, and a birthday cake and lots more. Call Margaret Driggs, our dynamic S.F. representative (SK 2-5988), and tell her how many are coming.

In Santa Rosa, a meeting the evening of Jan. 29. Details later.

In Los Angeles, home of our biggest boosters (no offense meant by that remark about S.F. above), a gala shindig has been plotted for the evening of Friday, Feb. 3, (doors open at 6:30 p.m.) at the Alexandria Hotel ballroom, Fifth and Spring. That great lady, Charlotta Bass, will preside over the festivities. There'll be coffee and dessert at 7, and entertainment. The main program starts at 8:30. Call Jack Fox, our irrepressible impresario in L.A. (WE 3-0114) and tell him how many at $1.50 each.

In Detroit, a meeting on Tuesday evening, Feb. 7. Details later. We're looking forward eagerly to shaking a few thousand of you by the hand—and coming back with some stories of our own to match those from the Caribbean.

—James Aronson

THE ULTIMATE DILEMMA OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Cold war or 'New Frontier'—but not both

By Ed Sears

(Last of three articles)

ONE METHOD for the Kennedy Administration to halt or slow the alarming outflow of gold from this country to foreign holders is to keep interest rates high. While Kennedy has not been too clear on his interest rate policy, he has accused the Federal Reserve Board of letting short-term interest rates drop too far. He declared:

"The drop in short-term rates has encouraged foreign investors to take their money to other countries where the rates are higher . . ."

In a sense, Kennedy is absolutely right. The interest rates on short-term U.S. Treasury bills have fallen from approximately 4% in February to 2.3% at the end of November. Interest rates on similar bills in London are 4.4%.

OTHER ANGLE: This short-term interest rate, however, determines the rate finance companies must pay when they borrow money in the financial centers. If these short-term rates fall, the finance companies will lower the rates on the money they lend on automobiles and appliances. As pointed out earlier in this series, there is little hope of automobile sales rising to new heights unless interest rates fall substantially.

In the 1953-1954 recession, short-term rates went from 2.2% in June, 1953, to 0.7% in June, 1954. In the 1957-58 slump, they went from 3.6% in October, 1957, to 0.9% in June, 1958. By this criterion, short-term interests now are too high, not too low. Keeping them from falling further, as Kennedy proposes to do, will not help fight the recession.

Kennedy also stated that long-term interest rates, like those on mortgages, are too high. He quite correctly blamed the Federal Reserve Board for this. He did not, however, specify how he expected to reduce long-term interest rates substantially—which is necessary to stimulate housing and economic growth—without also reducing short-term rates sharply. If, for instance, short-term interest rates remain considerably higher than long-term rates, more capital will be invested in short-term Treasury bills and less in mortgages. This will ultimately lower short-term rates and raise long-term rates.

HANDS TIED: Unless Kennedy tries to lower both short- and long-term interest rates substantially, he will not be able to fight the present recession effectively. This will mean more unemployment and lower living standards for many people.

The threat of an increased gold outflow ties his hands as far as lower interest rates are concerned.

Since Kennedy will not be able to fight the recession by keeping the budget balanced and interest rates high, he will have to reduce the payments deficit if he wants to encourage recovery. To this end, he has stated: "We will ask our allies to share the increasing burden of building the military and economic strength of the free world. The nations of Western Europe, whose economies we have helped to restore, should now assume full partnership in the struggle against Communism."

The failure of the Anderson-Dillon mission to Germany, which took place after Kennedy made the above statement, shows how much help Kennedy can expect from this quarter.

BONN IN A BOX: The Germans indicated a willingness to pay for some small "foreign aid" items, but refused to hand over any funds for the U.S. bases, the main reason for the drain on the balance of payments.

Even if the Germans had a deep desire to help the U.S., they could not do so. In order to pay for the U.S. bases they would have had to reduce sharply their welfare expenditures and raise taxes. These measures would have lowered the standard of living.

While in the past German governments have not hesitated to lower living standards when it suited their purpose, no West German government can do so today. The existence of the German Democratic Republic, where living standards are rising rapidly, render such policies politically impossible.

As Edwin L. Dale Jr. wrote in the New York **Times** (Nov. 21):

"The basic German position is that the total budget burden, and hence the tax burden, is at least as high in relation to the national income in Germany as in the United States. Although welfare expenditures of various kinds make up a greater portion of the German budget than they do in the United States' budget, Bonn's argument is that such expenditures are necessary. Because of the country's position next to the Iron Curtain, Bonn contends, the welfare payments demonstrate that a capitalistic system can prevent poverty."

DEEPER REASON: There is, moreover, a more basic reason the Germans and the other "allies" will not help us.

All wars, both hot and cold, have brought great benefits to certain sectors of world capitalism and imposed heavy costs on other sectors. The benefits and costs are never equally distributed.

In the Second World War, for instance, American capitalism reaped most of the benefits. It profited not only from the defeat of its apparent enemies, German, Italian, and Japanese capitalism, but also from the weakened position of its alleged allies, British, Belgian, Dutch and French capitalism. Because of its special geographic position, the U.S. was able to shift most of the cost of World War II on the backs of its allies, while reaping most of the benefits.

The shoe, today, is on the other foot. As a result of U.S. cold war strategy, which calls for bases encircling the Socialist world, German, Japanese, and to a lesser extent British and French, capitalism are reaping whatever benefits there are to reap from the cold war. These "allies" are shifting almost the entire cost to the U.S.

IS IT WORTH IT? As pointed out in the GUARDIAN last spring (May 16), the income the Germans have earned from the cold-war bases has played a decisive role in their "economic miracle." They are today United States' largest short-term creditor (last spring they were the second largest creditor). They are not going to give up their advantageous position unless they are forced to.

As long as the U.S. wants to fight the cold war, it will not be able to force the Germans to do anything they do not want to.

Germany, Britain and Japan are more serious competitors in the world market than the Socialist countries. Many American businessmen cannot see much sense in paying the costs of building up their major competitors.

Since Kennedy will not be able to reduce the payments deficit by having the allies "share the increasing burden" of fighting Communism, he will have to adopt other measures.

THE EXPORT PICTURE: Among the other measures Kennedy proposes is a drive to increase exports.

The sign on the float reads "Uncle Sam's darling," but the darling of Bonn is playing hard to get these days, and so are our British and French darlings too. This picture was taken during a carnival in Duesseldorf a few years back. The baby soldier is now grown to a full man who is playing with atomic weapons. Who was it said, "As ye sow, so shall ye reap . . ."?

As long as the cold war rages, U.S. exports will be confined to the capitalist world. The other countries of the capitalist world will be able to absorb only a limited amount of increased exports. Since they, too, are more interested in exporting than importing, they will not allow U.S. products to harm their domestic industries unless the U.S. agrees to buy more of their products. If the U.S. does agree, it will not improve its payments deficit. If it does not agree, it will not be able to increase exports substantially.

The Kennedy Administration, furthermore, will have to face the problems created by the Common Market and the European Free Trade Association. Both of these economic blocs, which are creatures of the cold war, pose a serious threat to the future of U.S. exports. In a few years these blocs will eliminate all tariff barriers between their members, while at the same time erecting tariffs against outsiders.

This means, for instance, that an automobile plant in France can sell its cars in France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries without having to pay any custom duties, while a U.S.-made car will have to pay import duties. As a result, U.S. automobile companies have just about abandoned any attempt to regain their export markets. They find it more profitable to export the plants rather than the products.

EXPORT OF CAPITAL: General Motors, for instance, has announced intentions to invest $500,000,000 overseas in the next two years. This sum is almost equal to its present foreign investments.

The Ford Motor Co. intends to place $220,000,000 in Europe in 1961. This is in addition to the $300,000,000 it wants to spend to buy out the other shareholders of British Ford.

This type of investment, which will grow larger as the Common Market and the European Free Trade Association become firmly established, not only will aggravate the payments deficit directly through the outflow of funds but also through the loss of future exports.

DRIVE AGAINST LABOR: The only possibility of substantially increasing exports in a cold war atmosphere is through intensive price competition. The implications are clear. Kennedy has stated:

"The Federal government must work closely with labor and management to develop wage and price policies consistent with reasonable price stability. The erratic upward spiral of wages and prices, especially in a few basic industries, is one of the primary causes of the inflation which has impaired purchasing power at home and contributed greatly to the adverse balance of payments, with its consequent drain on our gold reserves."

Kennedy has thus indicated that he will use the balance-of-payments crisis as the justification for a drive against labor. Every demand for a wage increase will be fought on the grounds that it will hurt U.S. exports. The cry for a shorter work-week will be answered by the charge that it will hurt exports. Increased productivity, the euphemism for speed-up, will be pushed as a means of spurring exports. Every single gain of labor will be threatened by this modern version of the slogan, "export or die."

OTHER 'REMEDIES': If Kennedy does not launch a major export drive, he can still try a few other remedies.

One is to follow up President Eisenhower's orders on servicemen's dependents. This order, which unjustly shifts the cold war burdens on to the servicemen, will not be of much help. It can, at the most, save $200-$300,000,000 a year, which is less than the dollars lost by Ford Motor Co.'s acquisition of its British stock.

Another is to implement Eisenhower's decree ordering overseas bases to "Buy American." This would not only raise prices for servicemen overseas but would also raise taxes at home. As the **Wall Street Journal** (Nov. 25) pointed out, the "Buy American" program, if rigidly applied to petroleum alone, would increase military expenditures by $500,000,000 a year. The "Buy American" program will thus mean lower living standards, both for troops abroad and civilians at home.

Another possible remedy is devaluation, i.e., an increase in the price of gold. Though Kennedy has stated in unequivocal terms that he will not devaluate, he may be forced to. If, for instance, Kennedy raises the price of gold from the present $35 an ounce to $70 an ounce, the value of the U.S. gold stock will double, that is go from approximately $18 billion to $36 billion. Devaluation, therefore, would relieve the immediate pressure on the U.S. gold supply but it would create other problems.

A WINDFALL: First, it would greatly strengthen the hands of the German capitalists, who have received most of the gold the U.S. has lost. The value of their gold stock would also double. The position of American capitalism vis-a-vis German capitalism would be undermined.

Second, devaluation is not logical from the point of view of the cold war. It would be extremely difficult for the U.S. to lower the gold content of the dollar after the Soviets have raised the gold content of the ruble. Since, furthermore, the U.S.S.R. is one of the world's leading gold producers, it would benefit greatly from any increase in the price of gold. Since the cold war is not being waged for the benefit of the U.S.S.R., devaluation could hardly be called a proper cold war step. Yet, the very contradictions of the cold war may force devaluation.

Third, devaluation would greatly increase domestic prices, especially of foodstuffs. It would drastically lower living standards of workers, social security pensioners and small business people.

In the final analysis, the dilemma the Kennedy Administration faces is this: it cannot both solve the balance-of-payments crisis and raise American living standards as long as it wants to fight the cold war. The cold war threatens not only to abort the "New Frontier" but to destroy the old frontiers as well.

A painter's wife appeals to the world

DEPRIVED OF LIBERTY, the mural he was working on hidden away, faced with a judicial proceeding that arbitrarily violates all legal forms, the painter David Alfaro Siqueiros has been in the prison of Lecumberri of the Federal District for four months. On Dec. 19 he was 64 years of age.

For more than seven days—for 150 hours—35 political prisoners and union leaders maintained a hunger strike in this prison. They instituted the hunger strike in order to compel the authorities to act on their request for **amparo** (a form of habeas corpus) which has been delayed for a year and a half in spite of the juridical precept that justice must be given quickly. The strike won by their sacrifice and with the anguish of their families; eight of the prisoners were freed. However, for the others, the confirmation of the McCarthy-like and unconstitutional charge of "social dissolution" will reaffirm their status as alleged criminals who should be jailed.

Siqueiros, veteran of the struggles of his country, for the sake of respect for constitutional liberty for all citizens; for their right to work with decent pay and to clean and independent unions; for the sake of their real participation in union elections; for the sake of culture; for the sake of true progress for the majority of the people of the country, David Alfaro Siqueiros also participated in the hunger strike in spite of his age and the danger to his life.

AND NOW, will it be necessary for the 27 prisoners that remain in Lecumberri to repeat their terrible ordeal so that some of them can gain their liberty? Such a thing will not happen, because the families of the prisoners would be filled with shame, anxious as we are for love of them and for our respect for their political convictions, to realize the impossible.

And above all it will not happen because an important intellectual sector of my country knew how to respond to the recent hunger strike, protesting energetically to the authorities, demanding freedom for Siqueiros and the rest of the political prisoners, to whom he, so generously, has given material and moral aid for a year and a half.

I know that these same citizens are preparing a tribute to Siqueriros that, by its size and force, may gain his liberty. But if it does not immediately succeed, nevertheless it will constitute a public act of vindication that will do honor to his patriotism and to his generous contribution to universal culture. An act that will go to his heart in the sad and critical moment of his captivity.

WRITER, PAINTER, SCIENTIST; students, workers, citizens of all countries and of all latitudes, of free peoples or of peoples in struggle, in whatever place on this planet you are yearning, like my husband, for equal opportunities for all men without regard to race or class, and, like him, are pressing forward to gain them, WILL YOU ADD TO THIS ACTION FOR HIS FREEDOM THAT HIS FRIENDS WILL CARRY OUT IN THE COMING DAYS?

We await your reply by means of the concern for this case that you will communicate again to the President of the Mexican Republic; through the acts of sympathy that you will be able to realize in your countries; and through the letters and telegrams that you can send to the artist himself, imprisoned in the shadows of Celda No. 38, Crujia 1, Carcel de Lecumberri, Ciudad de Mexico.

Immensely grateful,
—**Angelica Arenal de Siquieros**

Algeria has voted

(Continued from Page 1)

"What about de Gaulle?"

"De Gaulle is very strong with words, that's all. . ."

To a **Le Monde** correspondent, a young Arab explained how the fighting started in his neighborhood Saturday evening. A European civilian had checked his papers and threatened him with a gun. "Till then," he said, "we had let the Europeans set up their barricades without interfering. But when that happened, I asked the Arabs if they would let themselves be insulted without reacting. That's when the fight started." And the correspondent noted: "All around me, men are shouting: 'Algeria will live independent!'. It's the cry of a people thirsting for liberty."

ULTRAS' PLANS FAIL: Algeria was creating the heroic folklore of a people fighting for its independence. A young Arab was killed for wanting to put the FLN flag on a roof-top and his body carried away on an Army truck before the frozen eyes of an Arab crowd. Voices behind the Barberousse prison walls picked up the FLN slogans shouted by Casbah Arabs nearby. The dead were piling up in other Algerian cities. This happened as de Gaulle returned to Paris from his dramatic Algerian tour with these conclusions: (1) Things will quiet down again; (2) Mine is the only good Algerian policy and we must stick to it.

THE DIRTY WAR IS REFLECTED IN THE FACES OF THE CHILDREN OF ALGERIA
This photo was taken on "red Sunday," a day which may have changed the course of history

"Those responsible will be punished," de Gaulle said. "I shall break them." For, according to official sources in Algiers and in Paris, the "bloody week-end" in Algeria could be attributed to a few trouble-makers. The European (ultra) trouble-makers had furnished the pretext for the Algerian ones.

It is hard to say, at this writing, if there was an ultra plot; and whether the flight to Spain of ultra Deputy Pierre Lagaillarde and the presence in Madrid of General Raoul Salan were really the prelude to a planned coup d'etat or something less ambitious. From on-the-spot observers in Algiers it appears that the idea behind the first ultra demonstrations was to furnish the Army an opportunity—for emergency reasons—to get control of the civil administration in Algeria. Once the Army was in charge, one plan was to arrange for a great majority of No's in the January referendum. That scheme fell through when large Arab crowds appeared in the streets.

WINK OF AN EYE? Even the right--wing newspapers could not seriously accept the view that a few FLN "agitators" were able to bring out into the streets of Algiers alone 10-15,000 Arab demonstrators by the mere wink of an eye.

To an **Express** reporter a responsible Algerian leader made this plausible comment: "The FLN could not afford to gamble away its networks, its hiding places, its arms that way. We knew, moreover, that a public FLN demonstration in Algiers would bring on an Army intervention. The Liberation Army did not seek that kind of a test of strength. It had no direct part in Saturday's and Sunday's events."

It is not impossible, on the other hand, that the administration was willing to let the Arabs demonstrate up to a certain point. All through the dramatic Algiers weekend, correspondents noted a running conflict between the police and the tough-enough CRS (Republican Safety Guards) on one side, and the paratroopers on the other. The first two "handled" most of the Arab manifestations, often with remarkable restraint, and repeatedly stopped the paratroopers from interfering. The number of victims otherwise would have been infinitely higher.

De Gaulle has constantly invited the Algerians to "raise their voice" and "come out of their reserve." Last January, during the ultra barricades week, Delegate General Paul Delouvrier openly appealed to the Arabs to "cry out what you think! Come out in masses, freely, spontaneously, and shout: 'Vive de Gaulle'!" Some government circles undoubtedly hoped that they would shout Gaullist slogans, that their "Algérie algérienne" would counter-balance the ultras' "Algèrie Francaise."

In fact, "Algérie algérienne" was at first often heard among the Arabs. But to them it meant, or quickly came to mean: "Algérie indèpendante."

The way the troops treated them when their strength became too impressive, the fact that 20 of them were killed for each dead ultra, did not speak in favor of any "third force" Gaullist solution. The Arabs have lost 500,000 in the Algerian war of independence, and 3,000,000 of them (one-third of the total population) have been "evacuated," "regrouped," or otherwise removed from their place of residence. Recalling these facts, one **Express** correspondent noted:

"To believe that [de Gaulle's] temporary prestige, after these six years of horror, can be used to separate the people from the FLN is the most naive of illusions. De Gaulle is nothing to the Arabs if he is against the FLN."

It is in these circumstances that de Gaulle is opening the campaign for his Jan. 8 referendum. In the voting 45 million French and nine million Algerians are invited to approve the immediate setting up of Paris-decreed administrative powers in Algeria, and the eventual organization—"as soon as security in Algeria permits it" (meaning in several years, at best)—of a self-determination vote for the Algerian people. About this today's French voter knows nothing; on this the Algerian voter has just made his sentiment known in unmistakable fashion.

JAMES ARONSON, Editor, The GUARDIAN
will speak in the following cities on his nationwide speaking tour marking the GUARDIAN's 12th Anniversary

CHICAGO, Fri., Sat., Jan. 20-21
(See Calendar for details)

MINNEAPOLIS, Tues., Jan. 24
Andrews Hotel, 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO, Fri., Jan. 27,
California Hall, 8 p.m.
(See Calendar for details)

SANTA ROSA, Jan. 29
(Details to be announced)

DETROIT, Tues., Feb. 7
(Details to be announced)

LOS ANGELES, Fri., Feb. 3
Alexandria Hotel, 7 p.m.

UN Congo failure

(Continued from Page 1)

the UN command's passivity in the Congo and demanded Lumumba's freedom.

Hammarskjold replied that the UN command in the Congo had been authorized to use force only in self-defense; he added that, if the UN instructed its Congo command to use force to free Lumumba, it would be doing so against the provisions of the UN Charter and he implied he would, in such a case, be unable to carry out such instruction.

POINTED QUESTIONS: India's Krishna Menon questioned Hammarskjold's statement and interpretation of the Charter. Menon noted that the UN command had used force or threatened to use force to protect Belgian nationals in the Congo; it had most recently fought a six-hour battle with Mobutu's soldiers to rescue an Austrian medical team they had arrested; in this operation 63 Congolese soldiers were reported killed. Why then did the UN command fail to act on behalf of Lumumba, at whose request UN troops went to the Congo?

The debate raised pointed questions regarding other steps Hammarskjold had taken or failed to take. Afro-Asians, for instance, wanted to know how it happened that, in the early crucial stage of the Congo crisis, Hammarskjold had entrusted the main responsibility for the Congo operation to three Americans, Under-Secretary Ralph Bunche, his executive assistant Andrew Cordier and his

Canard Enchaine, Paris

African specialist, Heinrich Wieschhoff? It was not too difficult to imagine what U.S. reaction would have been if Hammarskjold had appointed three Russians instead.

Afro-Asians wondered what the UN command would have done if, when Lumumba was in power, he had arrested the West's protege, President Kasavubu? They asked why the International Red Cross was being requested to investigate Lumumba's condition in prison when the UN had 20,000 troops and many medical and other non-combatant units in the Congo?

EVASIVE ANSWERS: They also inquired why Hammarskjold did not repeat to the Assembly the suggestion he made at an off-the-record meeting of his 18-member Congo advisory group: an attempt to restore peace in the Congo by restoring parliamentary government under Kasavubu and Lumumba? They were of course aware that Washington opposed this suggestion because it preferred a Kasavubu-Mobutu regime without Lumumba. They demanded to know if Hammarskjold agreed with his own representative in the Congo, Rajeswar

Dayal, who had called Mobutu "a usurper" and described Lumumba's arrest as "arbitrary."

Hammarskjold replied tersely that it was up to the Assembly and the Security Council to give him directives. He ignored the other questions. Despite Menon's insistence that the original UN directive gave him sufficient authority to act on behalf of Lumumba's release, Hammarskjold held that such action on his part would be illegal.

After a gruelling session, the tired UN members rejected both the mild U.S.-British proposal asking Hammarskjold to continue his efforts to restore law and order in the Congo, and the resolution offered by India, Yugoslavia and six Afro-Asians calling for the release of all political prisoners—including Lumumba—and restoration of parliamentary government under Kasavubu and Lumumba.

In the Budgetary Committee, Hammarskjold pleaded for further contributions to meet the deficit in the UN expenses of $60,000,000 in the Congo in 1960. The socialist countries opposed contribution by UN members on the grounds that, since the Western powers had supported Belgian attempts to reconquer the Congo, they should shoulder the burden. The U.S. agreed to increase its contribution.

BELGIUM'S LOOT: The UN, in fact, would be justified in placing the entire burden on Belgium. It was surprising that Hammarskjold did not disclose Belgium's ruthless draining of the Congo's economic assets before the country's independence; some of the startling information was reported by the British health expert Ritchie Calder, consultant for the UN and the World Health Organization, who has been working in the Congo.

Calder reported (London **New Statesman**, Dec. 10) that, before the Belgians left the Congo, they removed to Brussels the Congo's gold reserve, ostensibly to underwrite the pensions and compensation of displaced Belgians; transferred other funds "for the wages of Congolese workers in certain public utilities;" and blocked in Belgian banks money for the payment of public services. The clearing house of all export-import transactions was already in Belgium.

By June 30, 1960, the Congo treasury had lost most of its liquid assets: in 1957 they stood at over $200,000,000; by 1960 they had dwindled to $9,000,000. Before independence the Belgian-controlled Central Bank held Congo money to the tune of $100,000,000; by Independence Day the new Congolese government found itself owing the bank more than $40,000,000. Brussels has been collecting customs and business taxes, mostly of Belgian firms in Katanga and South Kasai; these normally supplied 60% of the Congo's revenue. Hammarskjold has not suggested tapping this source, although he has told UN members that the Congo was facing famine.

OTHER MOVES: Control over events in the Congo seemed to be slipping out of UN hands. In Brazzaville, capital of the former French Congo, Kasavubu has just finished conferring with Belgium's puppet President Tshombe of secessionist Katanga province, who was planning to issue Katanga's own currency.

Three other moves are now on foot: (1) a three-man commission headed by Nigeria's Minister of Economic Development, Jaja Wachuku, is exploring possibilities of reconciliation in the Congo; (2) the Moroccan government has called for a conference this month of Afro-Asian neutralist states to find

Eccles, London Daily Worker

"That road sign points to an anti-bomb world."

a solution of the Congo crisis; and (3) Ghana's President Nkrumah has urged Hammarskjold to replace the present comamnder of UN troops in the Congo with one who would inspire confidence in UN aims, since Hammarskjold's "own position as Secretary General is seriously compromised and undermined by the apparent inability" of the present commander "to carry out . . . the resolutions of the Security Council." On Dec. 21 Hammarskjold replaced Swedish Maj. Gen. Van Horn with Irish Maj. Gen. Sean McKeown; it remained to be seen if this move would prove satisfactory to the Afro-Asians.

Negro history show in Chicago Jan. 1

A MATINEE CABARET extravaganza to celebrate the 98th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation will be held by the Afro-American Heritage Assn. on Emancipation Day, Sunday, Jan. 1, 1961, at the Packinghouse Center, 4859 S. Wabash, Chicago.

Band leader Eddie King will furnish the music. There will be a donation of $2, with tables reserved for $20. The affair is for the benefit of the Afro-American Institute.

Will you see Pauling's speech elsewhere?

There are few publications in our nation which will print such forthright remarks as Dr. Pauling's (see p. 7). That is why today, more than ever, Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting to reach intelligent points of view. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subs. Just $1 for 13 weeks, $5 for a full year.

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Church-state meeting in Portland Feb. 13

THE 13TH NATIONAL Conference of Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State will be held in Portland, Ore., Feb. 13 and 14. Daytime sessions will be held at the First Baptist Church. Evening meetings are scheduled at the Public Auditorium. Featured speakers are Dr. W. A. Criswell, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Dallas, Texas, and Glenn L. Archer, executive director of POAU.

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PUBLICATIONS

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Edited by R. Palme Dutt

INDUSTRY DUCKS BLAME AT CONFERENCE

How our beaches, lakes and rivers are polluted

By Robert E. Light

SOME 1,100 representatives of 300 government, labor, industrial and civic groups met in Washington from Dec. 12 to 14 to discuss the dangers to human and marine life from the nation's polluted waters. The National Conference on Water Pollution limited itself to setting forth the problems. It adopted no platform or program and ended on platitudes about "increasing public awareness."

But the conference performed a genuine service in spotlighting two new dangers: (1) low-level radioactive atomic waste dumped into the ocean in concrete drums which break open; and (2) household washing detergents which do not break down in filtering systems. The conference also pointed out the need for more water treatment facilities and research.

The session was set up last February by President Eisenhower after he vetoed a bill which would have nearly doubled Federal expenditures to improve local sewage facilities. It was the first of its kind.

BLAME EVADED: Basic conflicts between the participating groups limited the conference's function. Industry, which dumps its waste into streams and rivers, is anxious not to bear the brunt of the blame. It also wants pollution control on the state and local level. It views the destruction of marine life as part of the inevitable hazards of industrial society.

Labor and some civic groups want increased Federal participation in pollution control. They also want industry's waste disposal carefully policed. Wildlife groups are disturbed over what they consider industry's wanton destruction of fish.

A report prepared for the conference by the U.S. Public Health Service said that the nation's rivers, streams and lakes are six times as polluted today as they were in 1900. In the same period, the number of swimmers has doubled; there are six times as many fishermen; and the number of pleasure boat owners has increased 3,100%.

BEACHES SHUT DOWN: Only 35 miles of New York's 575 miles of waterfront are fit for swimming because of pollution. San Francisco closed two public beaches last summer because of contaminated water. San Diego's Imperial Beach has been quarantined due to sewage pollution, much of which originates in Mexico.

Two of Milwaukee's ten beaches on Lake Michigan were shut down last summer. Milwaukee gets its drinking water from the lake just off the beaches. Buffalo's beaches on Lake Erie were closed years ago. Cleveland beaches on the same lake are due to close.

The Potomac River above Washington is more polluted now than ever before. The average count of sewage bacteria at Great Falls during the last year was almost 7,000; 25 years ago it was about 250.

In New York
A first hand report on Cuba
by John T. McManus and other members of the Guardian Tour
• FILMS • MUSIC
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Date and place to be announced next week.

The report cited expanded industry, rising populaton and inadequate waste treatment by industries and cities as the major causes for increasing pollution. Dangerous pollutants which appear in some waters include sewage, chemicals that kill microbes but may be toxic to humans or fish, viruses, worms and radioactive ions.

NATIONAL DISGRACE: The report said that $10,600,000,000 would be needed to clean the waters in ten years. About half of this would come from Federal, state and local funds for construction or improvement of municipal waste treatment plants. The other half would come from industry to build its own treatment facilities.

The Public Health Service has 75 stations which sample interstate waters. PHS officials also check on the sources of pollution. When pollution from one state endangers another, the Surgeon General and the Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare can take action. Thirteen enforcement actions have been taken, but only one, in St. Joseph, Mo., required court suit.

PHS also does research on freeing water from pollutants. Its main facility is the Robert A. Taft Sanitary Engineering Center in Cincinnati.

No one at the conference minimized the problem—Surgeon General Leroy E. Burney called it "a national disgrace"—but there were differing views on cure and emphasis. Dr. Ira N. Gabrielson, president of Wildlife Management Institute, said the solution lay in the expanded Federal grants-in-aid to communities. "State leadership," he said, "continues to lag."

BIG BUSINESS VIEWS: Representing the Manufacturing Chemists Assn., Albert E. Forster, president of Hercules Powder Co., urged less Federal and more state control. Burney said: "The most fundamental responsibility of all rests at the source—with the municipalities and industries concerned. Clearly too, the states must continue to be keystones of our pollution control efforts."

Rep. John A. Blatnik (D-Minn.) said he would introduce a bill which would (1) double the $50,000,000 annual Federal allotment to local governments; (2) increase funds for research; (3) expand Federal control to include intra-state waters; and (4) establish an independent agency in the Health, Education and Welfare Department to handle pollution. Sen. Robert S. Kerr (D-Okla.) said he would support increased Federal expenditures.

Representatives of the oil, steel, paper and coal industries reported on "tremendous progress" in checking pollution. A spokesman for the League of Women Voters replied skeptically: "It is quite evident that there are more industrialists here today than fish."

RADIATION DANGER: Dr. Chauncey D. Leake, dean of the College of Medicine at Ohio State U., emphasized the dangers from dumping atomic wastes in the sea. He called it "the most serious potential danger to our long range health as far as water pollution is concerned." Of the concrete drums holding atomic waste, he said: "We know [they] will go to pieces in the water. But we do not know the details as to how rapidly . . . nor do we know the extent to which radiation may be distributed as a result of water currents. Out of sight, out of mind, is not a very satisfactory way to handle this problem."

Dwight F. Metzler, chief engineer for the Kansas Board of Health, said: "The size of the problem of radioactivity can only be guessed . . . Many believe it is the major hurdle to widespread peaceful use of atomic energy."

Some scientists urged further research.

ILLINOIS CITIZENS RAISE SOME HELL AT THEIR STATE HOUSE
They blame a chemical plant for fouling the Kaskaskia river

Earman A. Pearson, professor of Sanitary Engineering at the U. of California, said: "It is generally accepted that even the smallest increase in radiation exposure is harmful to man. But . . . how harmful?"

An Atomic Energy Commission spokesman thought he had the answer. He said the AEC saw no danger in the dumping. He insisted that the concrete drums would last up to ten years. After that the wastes would be diluted by the sea water. He said the AEC has dumped more than 23,000 55-gallon drums since 1951.

FAULTY KNOWLEDGE: Dr. Russell L. Teague saw wide gaps in scientific information. He said there are 23 inorganic substances, ranging from antimony to thorium, which are chronically toxic at concentrations of less than one part per million. But "the lack of data on the toxicity for whole populations and the extreme difficulty of procuring this information is in itself of great concern," he said.

Much of the discussion was based on the increasing use of chemicals in industry, on the farm and at home. Clarence Cottam, director of Weldon Wildlife Fedn. in Sinton, Texas, said that the nation spends $2 billion a year on chemicals to protect crops and timber from pests, but "there is much evidence that some of these chemicals are getting into our water systems." He pointed out that DDT concentrations were found in the Mississippi River at Quincy, Ill., and at New Orleans; in the Missouri River at Kansas City; in the Columbia River at Bonneville Dam; and in Lake St. Clair and in the Detroit River.

Rolf Eliassen of Mass. Institute of Technology said that many synthetic chemicals, such as household detergents, germ killers, insecticides, herbicides and solvents "pass unchanged through treatment plants to water courses and unchanged through water-treatment plants to consumers." He called on the chemical industry to create household detergents that can be destroyed in city filtering plants. "It should not be difficult," he said.

SOME PROPOSALS: Richard Hazen, a New York engineer, urged that the same caliber of research which developed synthetic chemicals be put into getting rid of their wastes.

Some 17,000 wells in Suffolk County, Long Island, are or soon will be contaminated by common frothing household detergents. John A. Zapp, director of the Haskell Laboratory of E. I. du Pont, said that if enough detergent gets into the water it will foam when shaken. "We know that the ingestion of these waters produces no immediate effect but what about 20 or 30 years from now?" he asked.

These are other points emphasized in panel discussions:

- Heavy spraying of pesticides and other chemicals are believed to have caused sterility among grebes (loon-like waterbirds) in Clear Lake, Calif.
- Worms and viruses so potent they can survive a trip down the Mississippi River from St. Louis to New Orleans have been detected.
- The sewage treatment process has not been improved substantially in 10 years.

Panels reported proposals, but the conference was not asked to vote on them. They included: (1) immediate expansion of municipal waste treatment plants; (2) Federal income tax reductions to industry for expenses in constructing waste treatment plants; (3) Federal licensing of pleasure boats, the fees going to a fund to combat pollution; (4) a law to require every state and local government to treat its waste in accordance with strict standards; and (5) the establishment of national water quality standards to allow classification for swimming, boating, drinking and other uses.

Stuart Finley, who was asked to sum up the conference, said it would be wrong to expect concrete action from the session. Its main value, he said, was the new information delegates could take home. It was up to the folks back home to see that the information was put to use.

From strikers to sharecroppers

THE MINE-MILL Strike Committee of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, has sent thanks and holiday good wishes to GUARDIAN readers who contributed a total of $965.28 to the support of the strikers' families. With other contributions, the Coeur d'Alene strikers' needs have been met, and in agreement with the Strike Committee, a surplus of four crates of clothing collected in New York are now being sent to another embattled group, the Negro families of Fayette County, Tenn.

The Fayette County people have lost jobs, been dispossessed and subjected to economic reprisals for registering to vote in the 1960 elections. Sixty Fayette County families were evicted in one day and hundreds are now homeless.

Because of special difficulties, the Fayette County people request that all contributions be sent to the National Committee for Rural Schools, 112 E. 19th St., New York 3, N.Y. Their urgent need now is not for more clothing, but funds for food and shelter. As this is written, families with 37 infants are living in tents. Checks should be made payable to the National Committee for Rural Schools.

DR. LINUS PAULING ON SCIENCE AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

'The time has come to abolish the committees'

Following are excerpts of the remarks by Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Laureate, at the Bill of Rights Dinner in New York Dec. 15. The dinner, sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, commemorated the 169th anniversary of the ratification of the Bill of Rights.

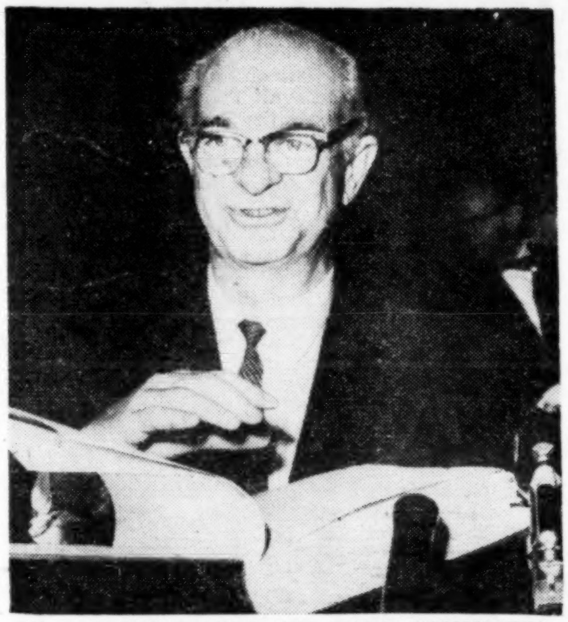
THERE IS A CLOSE relation between science and civil liberties. Since time immemorial the suppression of civil liberties has been associated principally with war and militarism, economic exploitation and religious and racial discrimination. The world has changed rapidly as a result of scientific discoveries. In particular, the industrial progress that has followed from scientific discoveries has been great, and there has been especially great change in the nature of weapons. If man succeeds in solving the problems that have been raised by the change in the nature of the world, then the discoveries of scientists can be used exclusively for the benefit of mankind; if he does not succeed in solving these problems, civilization may cease to exist.

Our freedom of religion, of speech and of the press, including the right to petition for a redress of grievances, have been greatly violated by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate and by the House Un-American Activities Committee, as well as by corresponding oppressive committees of the states.

THE WAY IN WHICH repression of civil rights operates in the nuclear age is shown by my recent difficulties with the Internal Security Subcommittee. In June 1960 I was subpoenaed by the Subcommittee in connection with its investigation of the peace movement; the Subcommittee planned to investigate the petition to the United Nations that I had written three years ago. I answered all questions asked by the Subcommittee, but one question I answered by saying no—I refused to give the Subcommittee the names of the scientists who had collected signatures and returned them to me, and my reasons for refusal seem to have been accepted by the Subcommittee.

There seems to me to be clear indication that the action of the Subcommittee in subpoenaing me and questioning me was a part of a campaign being conducted by Senator Thomas J. Dodd to prevent international agreements from being made that would decrease international tensions. He began his campaign on May 12, 1960, by giving a speech in the Senate advocating that the United States immediately resume the testing of nuclear weapons, that we place our reliance on a continually increasing power of destruction, and that we turn nuclear weapons over to our NATO allies.

I HAVE BEEN SHOCKED by the techniques used by the Subcommittee. It is my opinion that these techniques are repressive and that they represent a violation of the civil rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. The Subcommittee introduced into the hearing a letter containing a statement by an Assistant Secretary of State that was known by the Subcommittee to be in error, and a statement was made to me by the counsel for the Subcommittee that was untrue. I was questioned at length on the basis of two statements known by the Subcommittee to be untrue.



DR. PAULING BEFORE THE DODD COMMITTEE
He calls it "a disgrace to the nation"

Damage has been done to the United States by this action of the Subcommittee. For example, the newspaper **Dag Bladet** of Oslo, Norway, had on July 11, 1960, an editorial entitled "McCarthy Reappears," ending with the sentence:

"The technique of suspecting everyone whose standpoint you do not like of being a Communist is detestable, wherever you may find it in use in the world; the consequences of throwing suspicion on people who use their democratic rights to announce their beliefs, even when these beliefs are disagreeable to the government in power, are, however, the greater and more dangerous, the higher on the ladder of society the people are who practice this technique."

Let us demand that Congress abolish this committee, which is a disgrace to the Congress of the United States, to the nation itself, and to the American people—and that the House Un-American Activities Committee also be abolished.

ON APRIL 25, 1960, Representative James Roosevelt urged the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He said that the most serious criticism of the Committee is "the fact that it has become an agency for the destruction of human dignity and constitutional rights."

The action of the House Un-American Activities Committee in provoking students in San Francisco on May 13, 1960, when they waited in line to be present as spectators at the hearing of the Committee, and then in having the police attack the students, and its later action in permitting a completely distorted motion picture of this affair to be released, shows the depth to which the House Un-American Activities Committee has sunk.

The time has come now to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. This can be done on the 3rd of January. We must support our Congressmen, and urge them to join Congressman Roosevelt on the 3rd of January in cancelling the enabling legislation for this Committee, which continues to misuse its power and to act in a way that is truly un-American. Congressman Roosevelt described the action of the House Un-American Activities Committee in California in 1959, in subpoenaing 110 school teachers and then issuing their names to the press, as "one of the most shameful episodes in the history of this House."

THERE IS ANOTHER RIGHT that has been greatly abridged during recent decades, not by direct action of the forces of oppression but rather by the change in the nature of the world resulting from scientific and technological developments. This is the right to keep and bear arms: the Second Amendment says that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

The right to keep and bear arms was, 169 years ago, a protection of the people against an oppressive government. Now, when atomic bombs and super-bombs exist in the world, the Second Amendment ceases to have significance. Now, in the modern world, a few people may decide that the time has come to sacrifice all of us in a nuclear war—to press the buttons that will launch the missiles and start the bombers on their flights in the attack that may lead to destruction of the world.

It is wrong for the lives of billions of people in the world to lie in the hands of a few people, the people who can initiate the cataclysm of nuclear war. The Second Amendment to our Constitution will become meaningful again only when total and universal disarmament of nations has been achieved.

WASHINGTON DEMONSTRATION JAN. 2

January is key month to abolish Un-Americans

A MONTH of concentrated activity aimed at abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities was scheduled to begin Jan. 2 with a demonstration at the White House, discussions with Congressmen and a mass meeting in Washington with Dr. Willard Uphaus as main speaker.

"January is the crucial month for action against the Committee," Frank Wilkinson, field representative of the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, said. The demonstrations on Jan. 2 were planned to support Congressmen who favor a change in House rules to abolish the Committee. Later in the month action will be aimed at ending the Committee's annual appropriation, Wilkinson said. To facilitate this work the National Committee for Abolition opened a Washington office Dec. 28 at the Carroll Arms Hotel where information and literature can be obtained.

FROM MANY CAMPUSES: Student delegations were going to Washington Jan. 2 from New York's City College, Queens, Brooklyn and Columbia; Swarthmore, Bryn Mawr, Haverford and the University of Pennsylvania in the Philadelphia area; Harpur College; Brandeis; Rochester Institute of Technology; University of Chicago, and 10 California schools affiliated with the California Inter-Campus Coordinating Committee. New York buses were scheduled to leave from Times Square at 5:30 a.m. Jan. 2 and to return from Washington at 6 p.m.

Local and college committees throughout the country have circulated petitions urging Congressmen to support Rep. James Roosevelt's abolition resolution scheduled to be introduced on opening day of Congress Jan. 3. At the University of Chicago 46 faculty members signed abolition petitions. Groups in 17 states visited 48 Congressmen. New York Congressmen visited were Holzman and Halpern, Queens; Celler, Brooklyn; Multer, Powell, Lindsay, Santangelo, Ryan and Zelenko, Manhattan. New York Representatives who had previously taken an abolition stand are Ryan, Powell and Celler. Local committees also distributed 700,000 copies of Rep. Roosevelt's speech of last April in which he called for abolition.

A DOCTORED FILM: California students have been particularly active. Reacting to a smear campaign the HUAC had directed at them through a doctored film called "Operation Abolition," the students produced a record and a written report giving a factual account of the San Francisco demonstrations against the HUAC. The Committee's film distorted the purpose and character of last May's student demonstrations.

The record, "Sounds of Protest," is available from SLATE, a University of California (Berkeley) political group, and the report is available from the Bay Area Student Committee for the Abolition of the HUAC, 2317B McGee Avenue, Berkeley 3, Calif. The report was mailed to all members of Congress with a letter requesting an investigation of the film.

WALTER'S CHALLENGE: The abolition campaign's significance had reached HUAC Chairman Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.); this was demonstrated by a letter from him to the Hunter College Student Council in New York. The college newspaper, **Hunter Arrow**, said Dec. 12 that Walter's letter "challenged the Council to prove HUAC has committed 'repeated violations of the basic Constitutional liberties'." Walter's letter said:

"It is evident from the resolution submitted by your Council that you do not have a knowledge of the actual work and purposes of our Committee. Nor would it seem that you have made any investigation of the facts before pronouncing judgment."

Support for the abolition drive has been widespread off-campus too. Dr. Linus Pauling, in his speech at the Bill of Rights Day dinner in New York Dec. 15, called on New Yorkers to visit their Congressmen and join the Washington demonstration (see above).

NUISANCE AND DISGRACE: Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Ala., chairman of the National Committee for Abolition, said in an interview with the GUARDIAN:

"Wherever people are given a chance to express themselves there is an amazing unanimity of opinion that the Un-American Activities Committee is a nuisance and a disgrace and should be abolished. I am constantly amazed at the number and kind of people—people in the most responsible positions—who are aiding us in our fight against this Committee."

Eccles, London Daily Worker

"The examination results are as follows: Carter and Smith, passed. Higginson and Jones, blacklisted all government departments. White referred back to Military Intelligence for further interrogation."

Williams had special praise for the young people who have participated in the campaign. He called it a "wholesome and encouraging sign that young people are aware of this danger to our country and to democracy."

BOOKS

Today's renovated Nazis

IN GERMANY in 1945 you couldn't find a soul who had been a Nazi. Nearly everyone, it turned out, had continued to patronize his "Jewish tailor" until the "poor fellow" one day unaccountably vanished. (Sigh, and puzzled shaking of the head.) We used to make grisly jokes about it. I remember a young lieutenant in Intelligence who told us in Frankfurt he had actually found a person who admitted being a Nazi. You see, the man told him, "I had to join the Party; because if I didn't, I couldn't keep my job with the Gestapo." It sounds even more horrible in German.

K. F. Bornef, Konkret, Hamburg

But there were other Germans you never even had to ask. They had come out of concentration camps, out of the remote villages to which they had retired rather than work with the Nazis, and in which they often carried on underground activities. There was a special quality about these people: they were quiet, invariably thin and drawn, with a defiant look about the eyes that said: "I am a German—and I hated what I have seen and been through—but I have never stopped being a human being, and my soul is my own." They did not address you as the occupier. They insisted without words on being treated as equals. For some of us they were more than equal.

SUCH A PERSON is Alfred Link, newspaperman, the hero of **The Fear Makers*** and, one feels, the counterpart of the author, Wilfrid Schilling. The British and Dutch versions of this novel appeared anonymously, Schilling says, as a means to attract readers more to the subject matter than to the author. In Germany Schilling took such abuse for the book that he finally left Germany and is now living in Belgium.

There is good reason. For the book, using the flashback device, tells Alfred Link's story: his work in the German underground and his work with the French ferreting out the worst of the Nazis after the war; then, 11 years later, his own arrest on specious charges and his imprisonment—all this accomplished by the Nazis whom he helped apprehend and who in the course of the German "miracle" were restored to all they were before—with only the Party tag missing. But if the tag is missing, the vindictiveness, cruelty, piggish greed and bureaucracy are not.

THIS IS A STUDY of lower-echelon officialdom, the lackeys who made the job so much easier for Hitler: the judges, prosecuting attorneys, police, local office holders and their hangers-on. Schilling succeeds admirably in showing how these people succeeded in covering themselves up, while the small people, sucked into the fascist stream, confessed to the small crimes when a sense of guilt was able finally to penetrate the rubble-dust of post-war Germany.

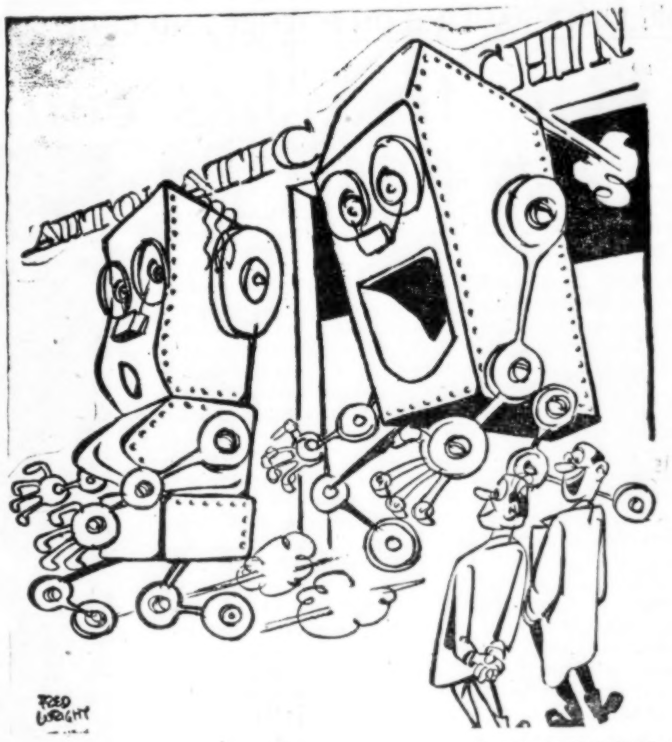
As has often been the case in a post-war world, it is the honest journalist who records history with the sharpest perception, rather than the historian who has too often been larded in the brain by the rich foundations. Schilling is an honest journalist. It is therefore a pity that he devotes so much space—fascinating as the detail is—to the experiences in the jailhouse where his hero was lodged after his arrest. The portrait of Link's immediate jailer is a marvelous one, but his more important jailers — the renovated Nazis—get lost in the process and fade out in a closing fantasy.

BUT THIS IS an important novel and it is important that a German has written it. Through German eyes the reader comes to see, as Schilling says in a foreword, that "Nazism in all its forms is no longer an internal affair of Germany's; it concerns the whole world and particularly those people who helped to overcome Nazis."

The people of Eastern Europe know it. In Western Europe, where German troops train on land they overran not two decades ago, the realization is fuzzing over. On this side of the ocean one wonders if the awareness was ever really there.

—James Aronson

THE FEAR MAKERS, by Wilfrid Schilling. Translated from the German by Oliver Coburn. Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y. 312 pp. $3.95.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"I've invented a couple of machines that will reproduce themselves!"

A Soviet look ahead

EVERY SO OFTEN a cell in the brain of some feature editor lights up with the idea of having a few scientists tell us about the supposedly fascinating—but often dull or disquieting—world of the future. Last year, Moscow's **Komsomolskaya Pravda** got up a Soviet version in **Russian Science in the 21st Century.***

Predictions on the next century were asked of 27 scientists and technologists. The interviews were conducted by journalists Sergei Gouschev and Mikhail Vassiliev and, it would seem from the text, a stenographer to take down the questions and answers. (Perhaps the U.S. newsmen who are so painfully conscious of Soviet advances should take notice. Can it be that legmen under socialism have secretaries to take along on assignments?)

SOME of the forethoughts recorded will be familiar to anyone who follows science news. The ideas of making the energy of coal available by burning it underground rather than digging it, and the casting of refractory metals—by means of "shape-charge" explosions—have already been tried. Sea farming has been widely discussed and automation is an extending reality. Other notions, such as subjecting molten steel to neutron bombardment to give it unheard of qualities, and of using surplus summertime hydro-electric energy to steam-heat the roots of farm crops, are new to this reader.

The reporting moves at a brisk, not to say breathless, pace. The tone is didactic and enthusiastic. There is too much of the kind of dialogue in which the professor repeats a question, tells us what it does not mean and what he is not going to say, and goes on with, "Now let us talk of . . ." Some characterization of the speakers, beyond their beards and the letters after their names, and more story-telling ingenuity, would have made for better reading. (The Public Health Dept. detective yarns of America's Berton Roueché are examples of good reading made out of factual science reporting.)

HERE, as in similar American works, a non-scientific reader may wonder how any one can discuss the future without explicitly considering the people of the future and human values. Except for one physician, no Soviet social scientists were interviewed, no philosophers and, of course, no artists.

It would be interesting to know how the latter might comment on an engineer's description of mountains, quoted in this book, as "inconveniences." And do the people of Moscow want to sacrifice every hideaway of dusk and night to an artificial sun shining eternally in the sky 12 to 15 miles above them? And supposing that they can be fed and housed, will it be pleasant, or even tolerable, to live in a world of 10, 20 or 50 billion people? Is it really true that for human population "there is no limit and there never could be one," as Academician Volkovich says on page 90?

—Robert Joyce

RUSSIAN SCIENCE IN THE 21ST CENTURY, edited by Sergei Gouschev and Mikhail Vassiliev. McGraw-Hill Book Co., N.Y. 222 pp. $4.95.

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HOW A VILLAGE LEARNED THE TRUTH

A parable set in India

FOR THOSE who want to know the writing of present-day India, Bhabani Bhattacharya is a key figure, important in part because of his clarity and compassion, but even more because in at least two of several novels—**Music for Mohini** and **He Who Rides a Tiger**—he has caught the life of the Bengali village in a timely and timeless parable.

In his latest—**A Goddess Named Gold***—the villagers of Sonamitti are divided into two factions. One is preparing diligently and realistically for the coming of Freedom Day, the day that will announce India's independence from the **Engrez** (English), the day blessed by Gandhi-ji. The other faction yearns for the privileges and benefits they had as merchants and functionaries under the British. Why cannot these be quietly carried over into the new freedom?

The head of this faction is the Seth, the village cloth merchant and local usurer—what would the village do without his generous and life-giving services, at fifty-some per cent? Opposed is a cabal of women called the Cowhouse Five presided over by Meera, a young girl of shy but notable courage and by her grandmother. The Seth has Grandma in his grip. He has loaned her money and can call in the loans and drive Grandma from the village.

A FAMILIAR SIGHT IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE
The novel pits a dream against reality

GRANDMA, who makes a home for Meera, is married to a wandering minstrel, a reputed Atmaram or holy one, who perhaps can perform miracles. Grandpapa does nothing to discourage this reputation. On one of his periodic visits home, he notices the dire financial situation of his beloved family and passes a miracle, as Mark Twain would say. He binds an amulet on Meera's arm and says that when she performs an act of kindness, all copper in contact with her bare skin will turn to gold. He also arranges that the Seth discovers a ring on Meera's finger which has been turned from copper to gold.

Now the tumult is on. The Seth becomes Meera's "manager," at his usual fifty per cent, and loads her poor body with copper ornaments. What was your act of kindness, Meera? Think and again think! Grandpapa has been only too successful—the villagers rush with small coins, begging Meera to wear them. Meera, with Grandpapa off again on one of his journeys, is left to suffer an ineffable hope, that she can rescue the village from poverty by her faith, by the torture of her body, and by the sullying of her spirit as self-consciously she and the Seth try to act or re-enact deeds of kindness.

SOHANLAL, a young city man employed by the Seth as a motorcycle driver, falls in love with Meera and sees the catastrophe of the village, that the villagers no longer are working for Freedom Day, no longer are led against the Seth in the coming local elections, no longer are carrying on the struggle for reality, but are plunging for a dream. Gold. A Goddess named Gold. The lure of easy solutions, of chimeric torment, of age-old greed.

The division of Sonamitti is universal in its meanings, and with anguish, tenderness, and humor, Bhattacharya brings his people to their senses.

—**Millen Brand**

**A GODDESS NAMED GOLD, By Bhabani Bhattacharya. Crown Publishers. 280 pp. $3.95.*

Tolstoy & the Czar

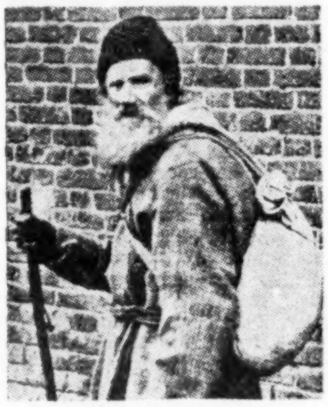
Count Leo Tolstoy, the great Russian novelist and humanist who died 50 years ago this month, wrote a letter to the Czar in 1902 on the plight of the Russian people. He upbraided the Czar for supporting war monopolies, approving corporal punishment and for calling the people's legitimate desires "meaningless dreams."

YOUR COUNCILORS assure you that by stopping the movement of life they secure satisfaction on the part of the people and your peace and security.

But it is easier to stop the flow of a river than the established, God-given, forward movement of man. . . .

It cannot be possible that you do not know that as long as we have been acquainted with man, his form of life—economic, social, religious, political—continually changes from coarse, brutal and unwise to more humane and wiser. Your councilors will tell you this is false. Orthodoxy and autocracy were normal to Russian people at one time, so it is today and so it will be to the last day. Therefore, for the good of the Russian people these two related forms must be preserved at any cost. . . . This is a double falsehood! . . .

Forceful measures can only suppress people, not govern them. The only way in our time to really govern people [is] by standing at the head of a movement, by leading people from evil to good, from darkness to light, to lead them to the attainment of the nearest of these objectives. To be able to do this one must first give people the opportunity to express desires and needs and fulfill those that answer the demands not of one class or estate but of the majority of this mass of working people. . . .



LEO TOLSTOY
Clad as a wayfarer

IN EACH PERIOD of human existence can be found at appropriate times the nearest steps for the realization of better forms of life to which it strives. Fifty years ago this nearest step was the elimination of slavery. In our time this step is to be found in the freeing of the working masses from that minority which rules over them—this is called the labor problem. . . .

In Russia, where a large part of the population lives on the soil and is entirely responsible to the large landowners, the liberation of workers obviously cannot be attained by converting plants and factories to common use. For the Russian people this liberation can be attained only through the elimination of private ownership of land, by declaring land common property, something the Russian people wholeheartedly desire and await the materialization of from the Russian government.

I know my thoughts will be accepted by your councilors as those of a light-headed, impractical man, unacquainted with the difficulties of governmental procedures and, certainly the idea concerning the acceptance of land to common public ownership the counsel of an inarticulate man, but I do know that to avoid more and more severe oppression of the people there is only one way: to make one's problem the objective which stands before the desires of the people. Not to wait for the heavy, wildly rolling cart to knock one off one's feet but to lead it to the materialization of a better form of life. . . .

DEAR BROTHER, you have only one life in this world and you can exhaust it attempting to stop the God-established movement of mankind from evil to good, from darkness to light, and you can learn of the desires and the needs of the people and dedicate your life to attaining these and live quietly and happily in serving God and people. . . .

Forgive me if I accidentally insulted or offended you in writing this letter. I was directed only by the desire for the good of the people and you.

Whether I accomplished this the future will decide, though most likely I will not see it. I did what I considered my duty.

I am, sincerely wishing you well, your brother,

—**Leo Tolstoy**
1828-1910

January 16, 1902

LAWYERS GUILD REVIEW

Liberty and the Court

A GUIDE to some of the cross-currents in American political life is found in the Natl. Lawyers Guild annual review of Supreme Court decisions on civil liberties and labor (Oct. 1959-June 1960 Term).*

The dominant note in the Court's decisions was one of retreat from more liberal positions, though in some areas advances were made. In most cases the backward steps were enforced by a narrow 5 to 4 margin (Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan dissenting).

Typical of the major losses and minor gains were the Court's decisions on searches and seizures. In two cases the Court weakened the Fourth Amendment by approving a search and seizure of a person's home without a warrant. This was in contrast to another ruling that Federal courts must exclude evidence improperly seized by state law enforcement officers.

In two cases the Court limited a wife's privilege to refuse to testify against her husband, and in the Nelson and Globe cases the Court undermined the Fifth Amendment by upholding the dismissal of two employes of the City of Los Angeles who had claimed the Fifth Amendment when questioned by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

ON THE POSITIVE side were the decisions (1) in the case of Daisy Bates reversing convictions of Little Rock leaders of the NAACP for their refusal to disclose lists of their members; and (2) in the Thompson case reversing a conviction of a Negro in Louisville, Ky., for loitering and disorderly conduct. The Court declared that the only evidence was that Thompson was argumentative with the police over their reasons for arresting him.

A clue to the prevailing thinking of the Court on constitutional liberties is its decision in the Nestor case in which it sustained confiscation of a worker's social security payments. Five justices upheld the constitutionality of a 1954 law barring social security payments to persons deported for Communist Party membership. They ruled that it is "not irrational for Congress to have concluded that the public purse should not be utilized to contribute to the support of those deported" for CP membership. Actually social security funds come from the worker's pocket, not from the public purse.

The **Guild Review** observes: "No doubt one sign of a great judge is his ability to be wrong without blushing. But even the greatest judge would have to blush for the opinion in Flemming v. Nestor."

The decisions of the Supreme Court here reviewed recall Abraham Lincoln's admonition: "If there is anything that it is the duty of the whole people never to entrust to any hand but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties."

**LAWYERS GUILD REVIEW, Vol. XX, No. 3, Fall 1960. National Lawyers Guild, 154 Nassau St., New York, 41 pp. 75c.*

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Kennedy's 'Big 3'

(Continued from Page 1)

the UN delegation even were influenced along these lines by the arguments of such moderates as Lester Pearson of Canada. Dean Rusk was dispatched to New York from Washington to stiffen support for MacArthur's action. (Later, in the conflict between President Truman and MacArthur over expanding the Korean War into China, Rusk supported the President, who saw the grave risks in widening the conflict.)

UN-CHINESE: On May 18, 1950, as the main speaker at a dinner of the China Institute, Rusk reflected the tough line of the China Lobby. He said: "We do not recognize the authorities in Peiping for what they pretend to be. The Peiping regime may be a colonial Russian government—a Slavic Manchukuo on a larger scale. It is not the government of China . . . It is not Chinese."

He pledged help to Nationalist China and said of Chiang Kai-shek's government: "We believe it more authentically represents the views of the great body of the people of China."

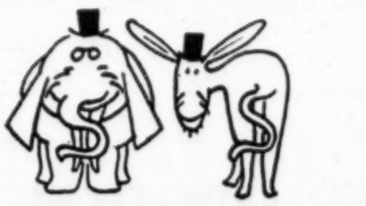
The New York **Times** interpreted Rusk's remarks as "hints of U.S. aid to revolt in China." John Foster Dulles, then Truman's Ambassador-at-Large, also spoke in support of Rusk's position. The dinner chairman, Henry R. Luce of **Time, Life,** and **Fortune,** praised Rusk for his "strong and vigorous statement."

Walter Lippmann in a comment said that if the Rusk speech was adopted as policy, "then the Administration has worked itself into a fantastic predicament. It has made the issue with Red China not the repulse of its aggression in Korea but that of its survival . . . These issues are not negotiable . . . (New York **Herald Tribune,** May 22, 1950).

LOBBY'S DARLING: On Dec. 29, 1950, via the Voice of America, Rusk bitterly attacked the Chinese Communists whom he charged with engaging in a "conspiracy against Korea" long before the war opened in June, 1950. Rusk spoke out against cease-fire attempts then being made in the UN and declared that the U.S. would not voluntarily withdraw from Korea. I. F. Stone in his book, **The Hidden History of the Korean War,** refers to Rusk as "the darling of the China Lobby."

Despite this background, there are some indications that Rusk now favors a more flexible policy towards Peking. He apparently favors a withdrawal of Chinese Nationalist forces from exposed positions—as on the island of Quemoy and Matsu; would oppose, but not veto, the admission of China into the UN, and would favor development of more diversified contacts with China, short of recognition.

As head of the Rockefeller Foundation Rusk's public statements have been limited and cautious since 1952. He was a member of the panel which issued the various Rockefeller Reports calling for a streamlined and stepped-up cold war. His most notable recent statement was an ar-



ticle in April, 1960, **Foreign Affairs** quarterly arguing against participation by an American President in summit conferences. Rusk held that such meetings constitute "a procedure which works to [Khrushchev's] advantage and our disadvantage." This was published just as plans for an Eisenhower - Khrushchev summit meeting were being developed.

CONSERVATIVES PLEASED: Rusk's appointment was urged by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, supported by Truman and initiated by Republican banker and Rockefeller Foundation leader Robert Lovett. In the **Foreign Affairs** article, Rusk said that the "foreign policy of the United States since World War II, seen in broad historical terms, has been responsible and constructive."

DEAN RUSK AND THE BOSS
There's an echo of Foster Dulles

The Washington **Star** (Dec. 3, 1960) interpreted the Rusk appointment thus: "A study of Mr. Rusk's articles and the transcripts of his appearances before Congressional Committees revealed him to be, in the words of a Kennedy aide, 'tough on Berlin and tough on communism generally'."

Business Week (Dec. 17, 1960) said the Rusk appointment "is calculated to reassure conservatives who fear reckless radicalism in foreign policy. [Rusk will] tend to act as a restraining influence on the more aggressively liberal men like Stevenson, Bowles, Williams."

The New York **Times** reported that Japan was "pleased," Cairo "disappointed" and India as evidencing "surprise tinged with disappointment" because of Rusk's selection. **U.S. News and World Report** noted in West Germany a feeling of relief since "Rusk is on record against summit meetings except to register agreements already reached. There is relief, too, that Adlai Stevenson, viewed by some Germans as too soft towards Russia, will expound, but not direct, U.S. policy."

Treasury Department

DOUGLAS DILLON, 51, investment banker and at present Under Secretary of State, will become Secretary of the Treasury. He will be the chief Kennedy Administration officer in financial matters, taxes, interest rates, balance of payments and gold stocks, and general economic policy.

Before joining the Eisenhower Administration in 1953 as U.S. Ambassador to France, Dillon served from 1946 to 1953 as chairman of the leading Wall Street international banking firm Dillon Read and Co. This outfit prior to World War II floated nearly a billion dollars worth of German bonds, much of which was used to build up Hitler. It is now a major factor in financing international oil operations and the floating of foreign bonds. James V. Forrestal, first Secretary of Defense, was an official of the firm.

Dillon was graduated from Harvard in 1931, bought a seat on the New York Stock Exchange, then entered Dillon Read in 1938. He served in the Navy from 1942 to 1945.

Dillon was one of Eisenhower's first supporters. Always an active and generous Republican, he and his wife contributed $14,000 in 1960 to the GOP campaign fund. Secretary of State Dulles, impressed with Dillon's work in France, made him Under Secretary in 1958. In this post he has been the Administration's chief adviser on foreign economic affairs.

STOCK MARKET BOOM: Dillon's appointment by Kennedy was enthusiastically greeted by the banking and business community. It led to a boom on the Stock Market. The New York **Times** reported: "Wall Street Hails Dillon Choice as a Fiscally Conservative One." The **Wall Street Journal** expressed satisfaction that Kennedy had named "a man of Mr. Dillon's conservative coloration, complete with Wall Street background." Walter Lippmann said that Dillon was Kennedy's "most significant appointment . . . and confirms the view . . . that in general economic philosophy there is no serious difference between Kennedy and such modern and progressive Republicans as Gov. Rockefeller." Lippmann added: "The truth, as was evident to anyone who cared to see it, is that Kennedy is a conservative of the age we live in."

On Dec. 5 the **Wall Street Journal** reported that Kennedy's' choice as Secretary of Commerce, Gov. Luther H. Hodges of North Carolina, said that "he has been given assurances that the next Secretary of Treasury will be a conservative—a sound money man like Gov. Hodges himself."

After the Dillon appointment on Dec. 16 the **Herald Tribune** reported: "It can be said on good authority that as a result of his talks with the President-elect, Mr. Dillon accepted the Treasury post with no reservations whatsoever about the compatibility of views between himself and Senator Kennedy on monetary policy. Mr. Dillon became convinced that his approach in this field is in consonance with that of the new President . . . Mr. Dillon has received authority to appoint the key men who will serve under him . . ." The **Journal** quoted a Congressional liberal as demanding: "What happens to all this campaign talk about low interest rates now?"

COLD WARRIOR: Dillon has been an ardent champion of the cold war and of Dulles' policies. At the AFL-CIO conference on foreign affairs last April in New York City he delivered an unusually strong attack on the idea of co-existence and summit talks with the Soviet Union. He took an exceptionally tough "no compromise" position on Berlin. His remarks were widely interpreted as undermining the prospects for success at the summit conference then pending between Eisenhower and Khrushchev.

Dillon's speech paralleled in timing and implication the anti-summit position taken by Dean Rusk in his **Foreign Affairs** article. More recently, Dillon was "credited" with masterminding the crackdown on Castro through reduction of Cuba's sugar exports to the U.S.

Vice President Nixon and other Republican Party leaders made a strong behind-the-scenes effort to persuade Dillon to reject the Treasury post. The GOP politicians fear that the presence of such an accepted Republican in this key Kennedy Cabinet post will cut the ground out from under them when they seek to criticize Democratic economic policies.

DOUGLAS DILLON AND HIS SOUTH KOREAN COUNTERPART
Finance Minister Kim Yung Sun came to talk about a matter of money

Defense Department

ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, 44, a statistical and accounting expert who became president of the Ford Motor Co., has been made Secretary of Defense. As such he will be the boss of the Pentagon, spend upwards of $44 billion each year, and direct the chiefs of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and the Air Force.

McNamara is a Republican with some pretensions of political independence. Like, Rusk, he and Kennedy had never met until shortly before the appointment. The new Defense Secretary has an academic and scholarly background. He was graduated from the University of California with a Phi Beta Kappa award in 1937. He then took his Master's degree at the Harvard School of Business Administration and worked for a year in the accounting firm of Price Waterhouse and Co. From 1941 to 1943 McNamara returned to Harvard as an Assistant Professor of accounting. From 1943 to 1945 he served with the Air Force as a statistical expert. In 1946 as a Lieutenant Colonel ready for discharge from the service, McNamara joined nine other statistical experts who sold themselves to Ford as a personnel package that became known as the "whiz kids."

THE 'SACRIFICE': At Ford McNamara worked as a financial and statistical analyst, a planner and market forecaster and as a manager. He became the company's controller and then a vice president. On Nov. 9, 1960, McNamara became the first non-Ford-family head of the Ford Co. Known as an efficient administrator and a shrewd market judge, McNamara is credited with Ford's successful Thunderbird and Falcon models. Little mention is made of his large responsibility for the Edsel model fiasco, which cost the company an estimated $250,000,000.

McNamara became a millionaire in the Ford service. His company income in 1959 was $410,833. Much of his remuneration was in the form of stock options, a widely used device to help corporate executives escape full income taxation.

Acceptance of the Defense job required McNamara to conform with the "conflict of interest" law and sell his Ford stock. McNamara said this would cause him "to forego profits of approximately $3,000,000 during the next three or four years." But **Newsweek,** Dec. 19, 1960, explained that "such financial considerations were not necessarily overriding. McNamara still would be a millionaire, after all, and Henry Ford II might hold the company presidency in escrow for him."

UN-HUMAN? Henry Ford II said: "I know of no one in America better qualified to take over the post of Defense Secretary than Bob McNamara." The chairman of General Motors, Frederic G. Donner, called the appointment "vital to the security of our nation and to world peace." The **Herald Tribune** said this "was an admirable choice in every way," and the **Wall Street Journal** commented that in the choice of McNamara, "there was a faint odor of irony . . . Here is a liberal Administration going into the enemy camp for one of its pivotal Cabinet appointments."

Newsweek quoted a former Ford executive as dissenting and saying that McNamara would "be the last man in the world I'd want to see in the Cabinet. He commands respect because of his braininess. . . . But he's completely deficient in human qualities. He runs Ford through fear."

CALENDAR

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(Details to be announced)

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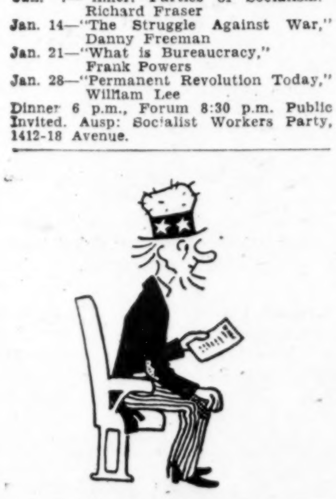
Jan. 14—"The Struggle Against War," Danny Freeman
Jan. 21—"What is Bureaucracy," Frank Powers
Jan. 28—"Permanent Revolution Today," William Lee
Dinner 6 p.m., Forum 8:30 p.m. Public Invited. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party, 1412-18 Avenue.



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PUBLICATIONS

JEWISH CURRENTS, Jan. issue just off press. Highlights: "Civil War Centennial — Celebration or Desecration" by Morris U. Schappes, "About Anne Frank" by Ilya Ehrenburg, "Petition & Prayer in Washington" by Irene Paull. Also stories, poems, reviews by Haya Kadmon, Victor Rabinowitz and Babette Jones. Subscriptions $4 yearly ($4.50 outside USA). Single copies 40c. Jewish Currents, Dept. G, 22 E. 17 St., NYC 3.

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

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Donald W. Berney

THE GALLERY

IN A WIDELY DISCUSSED AD, Lambert Brothers Jewelers in New York offered "for the woman who has everything else" an electric coffeepot "rendered in 14-carat gold with 250 diamonds and 150 rubies, each from 8 points to 4 carats." Lambert said it is "the only one in the world." It costs $50,000. Lambert offered private showings by appointment. The ad got Lambert its desired publicity as well as three bona fide offers for the pot. It also touched off Dr. James A. Brussel, asst. commissioner of the New York Dept. of Mental Hygiene, who found the ad "a symbol reminiscent of 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire'." He warned that if it were reprinted in "the newspapers of countries we are trying to wrench from Communist influence and domination, it would make peachy propaganda for Mr. K and Co." . . . The doctor would probably also be upset if he saw the "king-sized executive yo-yos" in walnut with sterling silver initials that are around for $7.95 . . . London financial leaders are adopting Russian methods, according to **Insider's Newsletter**, published by Cowles Publications. Method Intl. Ltd. has begun a special course for bankers, executives and government leaders to teach them better selling techniques through acting. The course stresses the Stanislavsky Method . . . From Robert Sylvester's column in the New York **Daily News**, Dec. 18: "A week or so ago U.S. Sen. Owen Brewster told a group of Scout leaders that **Pravda** had accused Wall St. of turning Boy Scouts into 'unpaid cookie vendors.' The Senator will be glad to know that he read this in **Mad** magazine, the comedy mag, and it was a spoof of **Pravda** he read."

CLAUDE R. EATHERLY, the former Air Force major who flew the reconnaisance plane which led the way to Hiroshima and Nagasaki as targets for A-Bombs, was picked up in Dallas after he had disappeared from a Veterans Administration hospital in Waco, Tex., where he was a mental patient. Eatherly said: "After I saw the destruction [at Hiroshima], I didn't want to go over Nagasaki but I went." Later, he said, "severe guilt feelings came over me just like that. I haven't had any sleep in 15 years, though it's getting better the last six months. It bothers me, but I'm learning to live with it. All this publicity hurts. It's awful. There's no peace. They all recognize me." Eatherly said he plans to write a book on his pacifist feelings . . . FM station WBAI (99.5) in New York will offer a symposium on medical care for the aged with representatives of the AMA, Physician's Forum and Blue Shield, on Jan. 3 at 9 p.m. The same station will broadcast an interview with Ambrose Reeves, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, who fled South Africa last spring to escape arrest for his outspoken views against apartheid, on Jan. 5 at 8 p.m. A one-hour documentary on the riots during the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco will be heard on Jan. 8 at 9 p.m. . . . A New York reader writes: "Went to Macy's to purchase some salad dressing; found the French and was searching for the Russian dressing when a white-carnationed floor walker noted my predicament. 'May I be of service?' he chortled. I said I was looking for the Russian dressing. He picks up a bottle of Thousand Island dressing and whispers, 'Oh, we call it this now'."

—**Robert E. Light**

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We therefore recommend consulting your family physician on your vitamin needs. It is **GBS's** purpose to satisfy these needs with tested products at low prices, so that our readers can avoid being cheated by overpricing merchants who make extravagant claims—which **GBS** will not do.

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Potassium Sulfate (Potassium 4.93 mg.)	11 mg.
Copper Sulfate, Monohydrate (Copper 1 mg.)	2.8 mg.
Zinc Sulfate, Dried (Zinc 1.4 mg.)	3.9 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate, Dried (Magnesium 5.5 mg.)	40 mg.

100 capsules, $4.95

HIGH POTENCY MULTIPLE VITAMINS FORMULA

For general vitamin deficiency

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vit. A (Natural)	12,500 USP Units
Vit. D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1,000 USP Units
Vit. B-1 (Thiamin. Hcl)	5 mg.
Vit. B-2	5 mg.
Niacinamide USP	30 mg.
Vit. B-12—Activity (Cobalamin Conc. N.F.)	2 mcg.
Folic Acid	0.5 mg.
Vit B-6	2 mg.
Vit. C	100 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	10 mg.

100 Capsules Now $2.95
(Formerly $3.25)

PEDIATRIC DROPS

EACH 0.6cc CONTAINS:

Vitamin A	5000 U.S.P. Units
Vitamin D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1000 U.S.P. Units
Vitamin B-1	1 mg.
Vitamin B-2	1 mg.
Vitamin B-6	1 mg.
d-Panthenol	10 mg.
Niacinamide	10 mg.
Vitamin C	50 mg.

60 cc bottle, $2.25

HIGH POTENCY THERAPEUTIC FORMULA

For run-down and convalescents

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Vitamin A (Fish Liver Oils)	25,000 U.S.P. units
Vitamin D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1,000 U.S.P. units
Vitamin B-1 (Thiamin Chloride)	10 milligrams
Vitamin B-2 (Riboflavin)	5 milligrams
Vitamin C (Ascorbic Acid)	150 milligrams
Niacinamide	150 milligrams

New, improved formula in a smaller, capsule-shaped tablet.

100 capsules. $3.

HEMATINIC ANTI-ANEMIA FORMULA

High in Iron, Folic Acid & B-12

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Ferrous Sulphate Dried U.S.P. (Equivalent to 57.7 mg. of iron)	4.4 gr.
Liver Dessicated NF (Undefatted)	200 mg.
Stomach Powder	100 mg.
Vitamin B-12 U.S.P.	10 mcg.
Ascorbic Acid U.S.P.	50 mg.

100 Capsules Now $3.75
(Formerly $4)

the SPECTATOR

The scab as hero

WHEN THE GREAT British General Strike of 1926 was called to help the country's miners resist a disastrous wage cut, the then leader of the Labor Party, J. Ramsay MacDonald, assured the House of Commons that "with the discussions of General Strikes and Bolshevism and all that kind of thing I have nothing to do at all." The latest British film import, **The Angry Silence,** now playing at the Sutton Theater in New York, is a try at persuading the working class to follow in the steps of the mutton-hearted Ramsay and to betray their own interests—just as the peace movement has once again awakened in them stirrings of their strength.

In itself, this sanctification of a scab is a piece of shoddy passing for Harris Tweed. But behind its mask of right-to-work democracy, and its earnest appeal for non-conformity, is the mind of Big Money hoping to instill in workers a fake philosophy of freedom which will destroy them as an organized force. The film also wags its tail at whatever Angry Young Men it can divert from an uncommitted rage against society in general to specific contempt for those to whom class and union solidarity is a matter of life or death.

THE HERO OF **The Angry Silence** is a well-scrubbed young family man working as a machinist in a town in the Midlands, who refuses to participate in a strike for a closed shop because, as he puts it, he considers the issue a "storm in a teacup." In any case the strike is a wildcat, unauthorized by the parent union. At first he and a number of others walk bravely through the picket line, but gradually the rest drop out and he alone is left to defy the authority of the Works Council Chairman. (The latter is secretly taking orders from a bespectacled you-know-what from London, whose malign influence on the events must be due to animal magnetism since he never speaks to his bench mates.)

When the strike is temporarily settled—on instructions from the central committee of an unidentified political party—our hero is sent to Coventry, that is ostracized, his child beaten and humiliated in school, and his own dismissal demanded as a condition for the men's remaining at work. Meanwhile, his friend and roomer in his house has deserted him out of cowardice and only regains his integrity when the hero loses an eye in an assault by two Marlon Brando-hipster unionists.

To this outrage he responds like a red-blooded avenger in any stock mayhem movie. Begging forgiveness of the hero's wife for his faint heartedness, he runs down one of the teddy boys with his motorcycle—all the other workers ride bikes, no doubt a sign of conformity—and works over the other with his fists for a few frames of film. He then drags them both before a crude crowd of workers jeering a gentlemanly union leader, a la Mr. Gaitskell, who is trying to rouse them to a sense of obligation to job and country. He shames the degraded creatures into a memorial silence as the foiled villain with eyeglasses slinks off to catch the train back to the city.

NOT A TRICK IS MISSED, but if you look closely you can see how the cards are stacked. The workers are a thousand robots in search of a grievance; the closed shop is made to appear as their irrational obsession, something out of the folklore of trade unionism. Their solidarity does not shield them against the boss, but softens them up for "troublemakers." The strike, instead of serving as a weapon in the workers' hands, is a menace to their well-being, so that the first words out of an old codger's mouth, when he hears of the plans for a stoppage, are: "Tell us what we'll live on when we're out."

Here the question is not intended to show the real anxiety of every man facing a long payless stretch, but to imply the shop chairman's callousness to the cares of the men who elected him. In maiming the strikebreaker, the hipsters oblige the plant manager by doing the very thing for which plant managers generally hire provocateurs.

Up to their moment of repentance the workers are portrayed as the boss sees them, greedy bad-tempered rams, cropping the grass as close as they can. They do not even respond when the central union representative tells them that they are on "work of national importance." The cold war contract may be the word of God, but they are still unmoved.

FOR APPARENT FAIRNESS' SAKE, we are also given a glimpse of a shareholders' board meeting, at which the plant boss, a no-nonsense fellow of the old school, bawls out his employers for thinking of nothing but profits. But this scene is just a projection of the managerial revolution myth which pictures the top technicians as controlling what they merely administer. And it does not compare in intensity with the fastidious distaste reserved for the body of workers rough unattached males lacking in the finer feelings.

Our strikebreaker hero is not among these, of course. While they walk out like pigeons flying off a roof, his credo, promulgated in the ads, is: "If people can't be different, if they take that away from you, there's no point to any of it."

He need not fear. Coming to his rescue from all parts of the North Atlantic Theater of Operations are armies and navies, bobbies and cops, mounties and deputies, gumshoes and goons, private eyes and stoolies, G-men and klansmen, and members of the British Union of Fascists. With billies and bombs, machine guns and microphones, tear gas and preaching, in blackshirts and nightshirts they will surround him, and all let out the rebel yowl: "Up the differents. God bless the differents. Liberty or death!"

—Charles Humboldt